

SOME NOTES ON THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS IN OLD ENGLISH INTERLINEAR GLOSSES TO THE LATIN PSALTERS¹ (PART 1)

SHOKO ONO

I. Introduction

Old English has three main types of relative pronouns²: (1) *se*-relative (declined according to gender, case and number; therefore, identical in form with demonstrative pronouns) (2) *þe*-relative (an indeclinable particle) (3) *se þe*-relative (*se* and *þe* in combination functioning as a relative—a compound relative). The choice among these three relative pronouns seems partly to be dependent on the environment in which they occur—the type of antecedent, the type of relative clause they introduce—and partly to belong to the style of the writer. As might be expected, there has been a lot of discussion about their usage. However, there are still some issues in the study of OE relative pronouns which are open to further research.

In this paper, an investigation will be made as to how the Latin relative pronouns (*qui*, *quod*, *quae*, . . . etc.) were translated in Old English psalter glosses, in the hope that it will give us some insight into the usage and stylistic value of the OE relative pronouns. Chapter II is intended to give a general introduction to the OE psalters together with a more detailed description of those psalters which have been selected for examination, and some comments on the kinds of relative pronoun which have been included in our corpus. In Chapter III, the comparative frequency of the relative pronouns in the OE psalters will be presented and analysed. Part 2 of this thesis (including

Chapters IV and V) will go on to examine the relation between the forms of the relative pronouns and the antecedents. Throughout the paper, we will explore the possibility that the compound relative pronoun might be the preferred usage in 11th century Winchester.

II. A Brief Survey of OE Psalters and the Texts Examined

II.a. A survey

Most of the Old English psalters are 'liturgical books, designed for use in the recitation of the Divine Office,'³ divided into several parts by elaborate ornamental initials and usually followed by the canticles. They usually include Latin psalters, wholly or partly glossed in Old English just above each line, as illustrated below (the example is Vespasian Psalter 19: 2 with the translation from the Authorized Version):

OE gloss: heofenas asecgað wuldur godes & werc handa his
segeð trymenis

Latin: Caeli enarrant gloriam dei et opera manuum eius annuntiat
firmamentum.

Authorized Version: The heavens declare the glory of God; and
the firmament showeth his handiwork. (Psalms 19: 1)

Although many such Anglo-Saxon interlinear glosses to the Latin psalters are assumed to have existed, fourteen have survived from the Old English period. They are the Vespasian Psalter (A),⁴ the Junius Psalter (B), the Cambridge Psalter (C), the Royal Psalter (D), Edwine's Canterbury Psalter (E), the Stowe Psalter (F—the Spelman Psalter), the Vitellius Psalter (G), the Tiberius Psalter (H), the Lambeth Psalter (I), the Arundel Psalter (J), the Salisbury Psalter (K), the Bosworth Psalter (L), the Blickling or the Morgan Psalter (M) and the Paris Psalter (P).⁵ The interlinear glosses are usually word-for-word, but sometimes we find more than one OE word corresponding to a single Latin word. These extra words have been added, in some cases, to clarify the syntax or the meaning of Latin text. On the other hand, OE glossators often left Latin words or even phrases unglossed, presumably because the words or phrases were so common or appeared so repeatedly that glossing was felt to be unnecessary.

Among these psalters, two closely related groups have been distinguished by Cook and Lindelöf.⁶ A, B and C form one group, A being the basis for B and C, while D is supposed to have been the ultimate basis for E, F, G, H, J and K. The psalters in the former group contain the Roman version of the Latin psalms, which is said to have been 'introduced to England by St. Augustine and his missionaries in 597.'⁷ The psalters in the latter group (except D) are based on the Gallican text of the Latin psalms, adopted in England at the time of the Benedictine Reform in the tenth century. Furthermore, Sisam suggests that G, H and J constitute the closest group, all of them being Winchester books written between 1050 and 1075.⁸ He also proposes the existence of some intermediate D-type gloss, based on the Gallican text, between D (containing the Roman version) and the other D-group glosses. Finally, thorough research has established I (Lambeth) as an almost independent gloss, written also in Winchester a little before the three mentioned above.

From among the fourteen OE psalters surveyed above, the following seven have been chosen as a representative sample for examination in this paper.

Name of Psalter	Date	Place of origin	Dialect of OE gloss	Latin text
Vespasian (A)	9th c.	Mercia	Mercian	Roman
Junius (B)	10th c. (905-925)	Canterbury	West-Saxon	Roman
Royal (D)	10th c.	Canterbury (?) Winchester (?) Worcester (?)	West-Saxon	Roman
Vitellius (G)	11th c.	Winchester	West-Saxon	Gallican
Tiberius (H)	11th c.	Winchester	West-Saxon	Gallican
Lambeth (I)	early 11th c.	Winchester	West-Saxon	Gallican
Arundel (J)	11th c.	Winchester	West-Saxon	Gallican

II.b. Some comments on the seven psalters examined

A (Vespasian Psalter):

The OE gloss is written in Mercian, which is believed to have been the dominant Old English dialect at the time of its composition and its Anglian vocabulary has influenced other later glosses. The gloss is

mostly word-for-word except when the glossator supplies personal pronouns (as subjects) before the verbs, inflected forms of the verbs *wesan* and *beon* to constitute passive verb phrases, and sometimes definite articles before the nouns.

B (Junius Psalter):

The language of the Junius Psalter is late West-Saxon but it is supposed to be older than the Royal Psalter, being closer to the language of King Alfred; for example, in the Junius Psalter we rarely see 'y' for earlier WS 'ie'. The date can be limited to between 905 and 925, because the Calendar attached to the psalter includes the phrase 'obitus Ealhswith,' which refers to the death of Ealhswith, Alfred's wife, who died in 905, whereas nothing is mentioned about the death of Alfred's successor in 925.¹⁰

According to Lindelöf's research, the gloss is directly dependent on the Vespasian Psalter.¹¹ The glossator mostly writes carefully, making few errors: he corrects, for example, Vespasian 9: 3 'ic *biom* *geblissed*' [Lt. Laetabor (deponent verb)] to 'ic *blissige*' in the Junius Psalter.

D (Royal Psalter):

The Royal Psalter is written in the West-Saxon dialect of the first half of the 10th century, although its place of origin has not been established.¹² The gloss is sometimes not word-for-word and some Latin words, for example, 'Deus', 'Dominus', and 'qui' (Latin relative pronoun including its inflected forms) are left unglossed as in the following example:

D 5: 12:

OE: & geblissigen () () hyhtað () ()

Lt: Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te

(But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice.—A. V. 5: 11)

The Royal Psalter seems to have been very influential and is remarkable not so much as a service-book as for its scholarly nature, its rich and varied vocabulary and, especially, the great authority it exercised over the later glossators. F, G, I, J, K, L, M, corrections of E and additional parts of A, all, more or less, depend on D or a D-type gloss of the kind whose existence is proposed by Sisam.

G (Vitellius):

The OE gloss of the Vitellius Psalter is written in late West-Saxon of the 11th century—the Calendar included suggests 1060 as composition date—by two scribes. Psalms 1–17: 35 and some additional glosses after 17: 36 are written by one hand and the rest (from 17: 36 to the end) shows another ‘less careful and certain’ hand.¹³ The portion by the second scribe stems from D or a D-type gloss, as do H and J. All these three psalters were produced in Winchester, between 1050 and 1075; hence, they are called ‘the Winchester group.’¹⁴

On the whole, there are relatively few errors and omissions in the gloss in G. One of the characteristics of G to be noted is that Psalms 17–31 contain many alternate glosses (214 double glosses are found in Psalms 17–50.). This is a characteristic which is shared with the Lambeth Psalter (I), although there is a much higher frequency of alternate glosses in I. For example (cf. the same passage from Vespasian cited above):

G 18: 2:

OE: heofenas *bodiað vel* (‘or’) *cyðað wuldor godes & () handa*
his *bodiað staðol vel trumne vel rador*

Lt: Caeli *enarrant* gloriam dei et opera manuum eius annuntiat
firmamentum.

(The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament
showeth his handiwork.—A. V. 19: 1)

H (Tiberius):

As mentioned above, the Tiberius Psalter also belongs to the Winchester group. Although incomplete, ending at Psalm 113, it follows D or a D-type gloss, often slavishly. On the whole, the OE gloss of H is a careless one, with frequent errors and omissions. One of the confusing glosses from H is illustrated below:

H 36: 7:

OE: underpeod beo pu drihtne (gloss is missing for 7 words)
he (misglossed?) bið gesundfullod on wege his on men dondum
unrihtwisness

Lt: subditus esto domino et ora eum. noli emulari in eo qui

prosperatur in uia sua; in homine faciente iniustitias
(Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him: fret not thyself
because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man
who bringeth wicked devices to pass.—A. V. 37: 7)

Moreover, the glossator's ability in Latin is rather doubtful; when the Gallican Latin text which he was glossing was different from the Roman text of D, which he was using as a model, he often left the part unglossed:

H 34: 4:

Lt: confundantur et reuereantur; querentes animam meam.

OE: gesceamien & wandien () sawle mine

(Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my
soul—A. V. 35: 4)

D 34: 4

OE: gescamigen & wandien fynd mine þa ðe secað sawle

Lt: Confundantur et reuereantur inimici mei qui querunt animam
meam

In H, the glossator gives no corresponding gloss to Latin *querentes* in the Latin participial phrase *querentes animam meam* (the Gallican text). For the same passage, D has a relative construction both in Latin (the Roman text) and in OE.

I (Lambeth):

The Lambeth Psalter was also written in Late West-Saxon in the early 11th century, before Tiberius. The manuscript belongs to the Winchester school together with Tiberius (H) and Stowe (F). I has, however, two notable characteristics. One is that it is independent of all the other glosses, although Sisam points out some places where the influence of a D-type gloss is evident.¹⁵ The other is that it provides with a great number of glosses. As Lindelöf's research shows, the Lambeth gloss contains about 700 more words than that of Vespasian and there are 1400 double (or alternate) glosses, 60 triple glosses and 3 quadruple glosses, one of which is quoted below:¹⁶

I 44: 3:

OE: *wynsum vel æpele vel ænlic vel wlitig* on hiwe toforan bearnum

manna

Lt: *Speciosus* forma pre filiis hominum

(Thou art fairer than the children of men—A. V. 45: 2)

This abundance of glosses suggests a 'process of collection and accretion'¹⁷ as well as the glossator's richness of vocabulary. There are about 200 OE words which appear only in the Lambeth Psalter. Generally, the Lambeth gloss is written carefully and accurately, but, as Lindelöf has revealed, there are many places where the Latin word forms are rendered incorrectly in OE. For example, the Latin verb, 'providebam' (15: 8 first person singular imperfect past—'I have set') is glossed as 'ic foresceawige' (first person singular present).¹⁸

J (Arundel):

The Arundel Psalter was also written in Winchester in about 1060. The language is Late West-Saxon. The gloss is related to G, D, H, and even to A, B, C (the Roman Group). Its close relation to G has been proved by Lindelöf. The total number of alternate glosses in J is 94. This figure shows that the frequency of the alternate glosses in J is much lower than that of I (about 1400 in Psalms 1-150) and G (204 in Psalms 17-50), but obviously higher than that of D (about 60 in Psalms 1-50).

J 33: 19:

OE: neah is drihten *þisum þa þe* geswæncede synd heortan

Lt: *Iuxta est dominus his qui* tribulato sunt corde

(The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart;—A. V.

34: 18)

The glosses to the same passage in A, B, D, G read 'ðisum ða,' 'þysum ða ðe,' 'þæm þe' 'þam þe,' respectively.

II.c. The data of this paper

All the Latin relative pronouns occurring in the first 50 chapters of each psalter are examined together with the corresponding OE relative pronouns and their antecedents. There follows an example from each of the seven psalters, all of which correspond to Psalms 7: 15 of the Authorized Version (He made a pit, and digged it and is fallen into

the ditch which he made.):

- A (Vespasian) 7: 15 (The numbering of the verse is that of the edition):

OE: seað onytnde & dalf ðone & ingefeol in seað ðone ðe he
dyd (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit effodit eum, et incidit in *foueam quam* fecit.

- B (Junius) 7: 16:

OE: seað onytnde & dealf hine & gefeoll in seað þone þe he
dyde (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in *foveam quam* fecit

- D (Royal) 7: 16:

OE: seap he geopede & adilf hine & gefeallyp on seap þe he
geworhte (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in *foueam quam* fecit

- G (Vitellius) 7: 16:

OE: bið gecyrred & adylfð hine & gefealleð on seað þone he
gewyrceð (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in *foueam quam* fecit.

- H (Tiberius) 7: 16:

OE: seap openude & adealf hine & hreas on seað þone he
worhte. (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum; et incidet in *foueam quam*
fecit.

- I (Lambeth) 7: 16:

OE: seað he geopnode & he underdealf þæne & he onbefeol
on þam seape þe he geworhte
(which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in *foueam quam*
fecit.

- J (Arundel) 7: 16:

OE: seap he geopede and adilf hine and gefeallep on seap þe
he geworhte. (which)

Lt: Lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in *foueam quam* fecit.

As can be seen from these examples, the Latin relative pronoun,

‘quam’ (feminine accusative singular of ‘qui’) is translated by three kinds of OE relative pronouns: A, B by the compound relative *se þe*, D and J by *þe*, G, H by *se* and I by *þe* but adding *þam* to the antecedent, *seap*.

While Latin writers had no choice for relative pronouns, OE glossators had three possible ways of translating Latin relative pronouns. Consequently, we can expect that the choice of OE relative pronouns will reflect some aspects of the linguistic circumstances which surrounded the glossators: regional dialect, age, style etc., although we have to keep in mind that the language of the glosses is somewhat different from that of everyday use.

In the preceding examples, the Latin ‘qui’ has an antecedent, but it can also be used without an expressed antecedent, with the meaning, ‘he who’ or ‘those who’:

A 3: 2:

OE: dryhten hwet gemonigfaldade sindun *ða ðe* swencað mec

Lt: Domine quid multiplicati sunt *qui* tribulant me.

(Lord, how are they increased that trouble me—A. V. 3: 1)

The most common gloss for this type of *qui* is *se þe* (or *þa þe*) as in the example, where *se* functions as an antecedent and *þe* as a relative pronoun. Thus this usage of *se þe* and its inflected forms is obviously different from that of the compound relative *se þe*, where both *se* and *þe* function as a relative pronoun referring to the antecedent in the main clause.¹⁹

In fact, this use of *qui* is so frequent in the psalters that a separate discussion seems to be appropriate. The analysis of this usage of Latin relative pronouns has therefore been excluded from this paper.

There is another frequent Latin expression, ‘omnes qui . . .’ or ‘universi qui . . .’ (all those who . . .), to which the most common gloss is ‘ealle þa þe . . .’. The instances of this expression are eliminated from our statistics and are discussed separately.

Finally, we must draw attention to the difficulties in compiling the data. In the following example, we are confronted with two possible interpretations for the antecedent:

A 33: 9:

OE: eadig wer se gehyhteð in hine

Lt: beatus vir qui spererat in eum

(blessed is the man who trusteth in him—A. V. 34: 8)

B 33: 9

OE: eadig wer se ðe . . .

D 33: 9:

OE: eadig wer þe . . .

I 33: 9:

OE: eadig wer se þe . . .

If we take 'vir' as antecedent, the interpretation will be 'blessed is the man who . . .,' but if we take 'qui' as 'he who' with no antecedent, the whole sentence will be 'he who . . . is a blessed man.' Examples of the same type of expression but with the dative or genitive forms of 'qui' are also found:

A 31: 2:

OE: eadig wer ðam ne geteleð dryhten synne

Lt: Beatus vir cui non imputabit Dominus peccatum

(Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.

—A. V. 32: 2)

However, in Junius 111: 1, the OE gloss to the same phrase is 'eadig bið se wer se ðe . . .,' the only interpretation of which is 'blessed is the man. . . .' This instance tempts us to take 'eadig wer' in 33: 9 as a predicative phrase because there is no 'se' before 'wer'.

Vitellius has two instances of a double gloss to the Latin relative pronoun.

H 24: 12:

OE: he gesette him on *wege* {dative} *þam* {dative} ge gecyst vel
ðone þe {accusative} geceas

Lt: statuit ei in *uia quam* el egit.

(him shall he teach in the way that he shall choose.—A. V. 25: 12)

H 26: 7:

OE: gehyr drihten *stefne mine* {feminine} on ðæt {neuter accusative} vel mid þe ic clypode to ()

Lt: Exaudi domine *uocem meam qua* clamaui ad te

(Hear, O Lord, when I cry with my voice:—A. V. 27: 7)

In 24: 12, the glossator of H is uncertain about the case of the relative pronoun, hesitating between dative (agreeing with the case required by the main clause) and accusative (agreeing with that required by the relative clause). In 26: 7 both gender and case are confused. All glosses of these types are included in our corpus.

Often the 'se'-relative causes trouble as to whether it is really a relative pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun referring to the preceding noun as in:

A 32: 13-15:

OE: of hiefene gelocade *dryhten* 15: *se* gehiewade wrix-
endlice heortan heara

Lt: De caelo prospexit *Dominus* 15: *Qui* finxit singil-
latim corda eorum

(The Lord looketh from heaven 15: He fashioneth their
hearts alike;—A. V. 33: 13-15)

Whenever the Latin version has a noun referred to by 'qui,' 'se' is taken as a relative pronoun and included in our corpus.

III. The Comparative Frequency of OE Relative Pronouns in the Psalters

III.a. A table showing the comparative frequency of the relative pronouns

Table 1 below shows the comparative frequency of the three categories of OE relatives (*se*, *þe*, *se þe*), as glosses of the Latin relative pronouns (*qui*, *quae*, *quod* etc.). The use of 'qui,' with no expressed antecedent, usually with the generalising meaning 'he who' or 'those who,' is excluded here. For the compound relative pronoun *se þe*, four types are distinguished in line with the classification put forward by Mitchell.²⁰ Firstly, 'seþe' signifies that the case of the 'se'-element agrees with the case required by the relative clause. Secondly, *se'þe* indicates that the *se*-element of the relative is in the case required by the principal clause. In the following table three occurrences of *se'þe*

are included. In the texts, these examples of 'se' and 'pe' in combination seem to constitute glosses of a Latin relative pronoun. Mitchell and Traugott, however, do not regard *se'pe* as a compound relative, because 'se,' in this case, is considered to belong to the main clause instead of the relative clause.²¹ The third and the fourth types are *sepe* (a) and *sepe* (b), respectively. In *sepe* (a), both the main and the relative clauses require the same case. On the other hand, in *sepe* (b), a different case is required by the main clause and the relative clause but we cannot distinguish it in the form of the relative; for example, 'pa' can be either nominative plural or accusative plural. There follows an example of each of the six kinds of relative:

se-relative:

A 9: 11: singað *dryhten se* eardað in sion [psallite *domino qui habitat in sion*] (Sing praises to the Lord, which dwelleth in Zion:—A. V. 9: 11)²²

pe (indeclinable particle):

D 21: 32: bodiað heofonas ryhtwisnesse *his folce pe* acenned biþ [adnuntiabunt celi iustitiam *eius populo qui nascetur*] ((They) shall declare his righteousness unto people that shall be born—A. V. 22: 31)

se pe (compound relative)

'*sepe*:

I 24: 12: he gesette him on *wege* {dat.} *þone* {acc.} *pe* he ge [statuit ei in uia quam eleget] (him shall he teach in the way he shall choose—A. V. 25: 12)

se'pe:

I 12: 6: ic singe *drihtne* {dat.} *þam* {dat.} *pe* goda sealde me [cantabo domino qui bona tribuit mihi] (I will sing unto the Lord, because he hath dealt bountifully.—A. V. 13: 6)

sepe (a):

G 30: 19: dumba synd vel gewurðe *weleras* {nom. pl.} *facenful þa* {nom. pl.} *pe* sprecað ongean rihtwise on ofermodnesse & on unþeawe [muta fiant *labia dolosa*,

que loquuntur aduersus iustum iniquitatem in superbia et in abusione] (let the lying lips be put to silence; which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous.

sepe (b):

I 17: 45: *folc {nom.} þæt {either nom. or acc.} þe ic ne oncneow ðeowde me [Populus quem non cognoui seruiuit mihi]* (the strangers—the people wohm I didn't know—shall submit themselves unto me—A. V. 18: 44)

(N. B. The tables for the relative without expressed antecedents and for 'omnes qui' are presented for comparison in the notes. All chapters (1-150) of A and B have been examined concerning 'qui.' The results are also in the notes.²⁴)

Table 1: Comparative frequency of OE relatives²³

Name of psalter	<i>se</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>se þe</i>		others
Vespasian (A)	64 (87%)	0 (0%)	5 (7%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 2) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 3)	<i>þu</i> 3 (4%) <i>þes</i> 1 (1%)
Junius (B)	57 (76%)	0 (0%)	15 (20%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 3) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 7) (<i>se þe</i> (b) 5)	<i>þu</i> 3 (4%)
Royal (D)	28 (39%)	30 (42%)	11 (15%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 3) (<i>se' þe</i> 1) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 6)	<i>þu</i> 3 (4%)
Lambeth (I)	11 (14%)	17 (22%)	45 (59%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 20) (<i>se' þe</i> 1) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 18) (<i>se þe</i> (b) 6)	<i>þu þe</i> 4 (5%)
Vitellius (G)	28 (43%)	11 (17%)	26 (40%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 12) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 10) (<i>se þe</i> (b) 4)	0
Tiberius (H)	24 (40%)	29 (48%)	4 (6%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 2) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 2)	<i>hwylce</i> 1 (2%) <i>þu þe</i> 1 (2%) <i>þysum</i> (?) (2%)
Arundel (J)	19 (33%)	6 (11%)	28 (49%)	(['] <i>se þe</i> 7) (<i>se' þe</i> 1) (<i>se þe</i> (a) 18) (<i>se þe</i> (b) 2)	<i>þe *e</i> (2%) <i>þu</i> (2%) <i>þu *e</i> (4%)

III.b. Some general observations on Table 1

From the information in Table 1, we can make the following three observations about the use of the OE relatives.

1. A and B make the most frequent use of *se*-relative.
2. D and H show higher frequency of '*pe*' than other psalters.
3. G, I and J are characterised by preference for the compound relative '*se pe*.'

As mentioned in II.b., B is a close descendant of A, and H is a rather slavish copy of a D-type gloss. Therefore, it seems to be reasonable that the two pairs, 'A and B' and 'D and H,' respectively, should show similar usage of OE relatives. I (which is independent of the other glosses) has no close relation to G and J (which both descend from a D-type gloss) with respect to the sources. However, G and J still have these two points in common with I. Firstly, all of them were glossed in Winchester in the 11th century. Secondly, all three texts contain many alternate or interpretive glosses. Thus the frequent use of '*se pe*' might be ascribed to these two facts, the place of composition and the interpretive style.

The above mentioned tendencies are even more conspicuous in the statistics for the Latin masculine nominative singular and plural rela-

Table 2: OE gloss for '*qui*'²⁵

Psalter	<i>se</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>se pe</i>
A	35 (88%)	0 (0%)	5 (12%)
B	29 (67%)	0 (0%)	14 (33%)
D	12 (30%)	23 (58%)	5 (13%)
I	1 (2%)	9 (22%)	31 (76%)
G	6 (17%)	10 (29%)	19 (54%)
H	6 (22%)	20 (74%)	1 (4%)
J	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	20 (69%)

tive pronoun, 'qui'.

III.c. Some comments on the comparative frequency of the relatives in the psalters

III.c.1. The psalters before the 11th century

Vespasian:

The glossator of A almost invariably translates Latin relatives with 'se' or with its inflected forms. 'pe' only sporadically follows 'se' or 'pa' to constitute a compound relative. The compound relative is found mainly in the nominative case ('se pe,' 'pa pe'). The indeclinable particle 'pe' is rarely used as an independent relative in either A or B.

Unfortunately, we have no other extant psalter in Mercian except part of the Blickling Gloss, which is only fragmentary.²⁶ It is therefore impossible to decide whether this exclusive use of 'se' in A is peculiar to Mercian religious documents or whether it is just the style of the glossator.

Junius:

The gloss to the Latin relative pronouns in B mostly follows A, so 'se' is the most prevalent relative in B. However, in seven places, the gloss deviates from A, and the glossator uses the compound relative pronoun instead of the 'se'-relative. This type of deviation is especially frequent when the antecedent is a demonstrative pronoun (cf.

Table 3: Comparison of B with *Pastoral Care*

Statistic of <i>Pastoral Care</i> ²⁷ (pp. 25 9—59, 100 relatives)			Junius
declined relative	<i>pe</i> with 'se' as antecedent	17 (%)	34 (31%)
	<i>pe</i> with antecedents other than 'se'	55 (%)	0
	<i>se</i> 'he who'	2 (%)	
	<i>se</i> with antecedents	5 (%)	57 (52%)
compound rel.	<i>se . . . se se</i>	1 (%)	
	<i>se pe, pa pe</i>	10 (%)	15 (13%)
	<i>þætte</i> (with antecedents)	10 (%)	
<i>þæt</i> as 'what'	<i>þæt</i>	5 (%)	
	<i>þætte</i>	1 (%)	<i>þu</i> 3 (3%)
	<i>þæt þæt</i>	2 (%)	

IV in Part 2). Thus B has three times as many compound relatives as A. The rare use of 'þe' as relative seems to have been inherited from A. In the following table, the statistics of B are compared with those of *Pastoral Care*. Since the language of B is closer to Alfredian OE than to Aelfrican OE (cf. II.b.) the comparison of the statistics is of some interest. The percentages of 'se' (with antecedents) and 'þe' (with antecedents other than 'se') in B and in *Pastoral Care*, are almost reversed, while that of 'se þe' is almost the same. Though mostly preserving the A gloss, the West-Saxon glossator of B is sometimes tempted to use compound relatives.

Royal:

In D, 'þe' is much more frequent than in A, B and other psalters. The comparison of D with *The Blickling Homilies* (hereafter, BL), written in the 10th century West-Saxon, is given below:

Table 4: Comparison of D with BL

<i>The Blickling Homilies</i> ²⁸		Royal Psalter
<i>se</i>	23%	39%
<i>þe</i>	63%	42%
<i>se þe</i>	14%	15%
		'þu' 4%

In both D and BL, 'þe' is the most frequent relative pronoun, although the percentage differs greatly. The high frequency of 'se' in D can be explained as due to the more frequent appearance in the psalters of 'God' and 'Lord' as antecedents followed by a non-restrictive relative clause (cf. IV. in Part 2. 'Se' is preferred with the non-restrictive clauses.). 'Se þe' appears with the same frequency in both texts, just as is the case with B and *Pastoral Care*. In the Royal gloss, which is rather independent of the former glosses, 'þe' is often preferred to the 'se'-relative where the relative pronoun introduces a restrictive relative clause (cf. IV. in Part 2), as is also the case in BL:²⁹ On the whole we might assume that, in D, the gloss to the relative pronouns follows the common usage in the 10th century religious documents.

III.c.2. The psalters written in the 11th century

G, H and J are derivatives of D, closely related to each other, and constituting the Winchester Group. I, though independent, was also written in Winchester. Thus all four are connected to Winchester, the centre of learning in the 11th century. Three of them, G, H and I are characterised by the frequent use of 'se þe.' However, H is different from the other Winchester Books in that its most frequent relative is 'þe.' Comparing H with D shows that H is quite dependent on D in glossing the Latin relative pronouns. There are only four deviations from D found in H.³⁰ The dominance of 'þe' in H can be traced back directly to D. On the other hand, the glossators of G and J take a more free attitude toward translating the Latin relatives as can be seen from the statistics. So the frequent use of 'se þe' might belong to the style of the 11th century Winchester writers.

The first 50 chapters of the Paris Psalter (hereafter, P) seem to support this point. P is an OE prose translation (not gloss) of the psalms in early West-Saxon, composed also by King Alfred.³¹ The translation includes a great many phrases interpolated by the translator in an attempt to clarify the meaning of the difficult parts of the psalms; the relative pronouns are often used in these interpolations, as in:

P 44: 4: Gyrð nu þin sweord ofer þin þeoh, þu Mihtiga, *þæt ys gastlicu lar, seo (rel.) ys on þam godspelle: seo (rel.) ys scearpre þonne æni sweord.* (the italicized part is a comment by the translator.) [the corresponding Latin verse is—44: 4 (Vulgata) accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime] (Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty,—A. V. 45: 3)

Another characteristic of P to be noted is that the compound relative not infrequently introduces a relative clause which is extraposed to the front of the sentence, leaving the antecedent (usually a personal pronoun) behind, e.g.:

P 36: 9: ac *þa þe* to Gode hopiað, and his fultumes anbidiað, *þy* gesittað on yrfeweardnesse eorþan. [Lt (36: 9): *sustinentes autem Dominum ipsi* hereditabunt terram]

(but those who wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth.—A. V. 37: 9)

The comparative frequency of the uses of the different relatives in translated phrases and in interpolated comments is shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Statistics for P
Statistics for the Paris Psalter

type of relative	translation	comment	total
<i>se</i> -relative	11 (20%)	27 (26%)	38 (24%)
<i>þe</i> (with antecedents other than ' <i>se</i> ')	35 (63%)	63 (62%)	98 (62%)
<i>se þe</i>	10 (18%)	12 (12%)	22 (14%)

The most frequent relative in P is ' *þe* '. The compound relative pronoun occurs with almost the same frequency (14%) as in the 10th century psalters and BL, although the percentage is a little higher in the translated part than in the interpolated commentary. P shows no special preference for ' *se þe* .'

In addition, the statistics for the first twenty homilies of Aelfric, available from Mitchell,³² supply further supplementary evidence. Needless to say, Aelfric is closely connected to Winchester. Table 6 shows the statistics for Aelfric's Homilies:

Table 6: Statistics for Aelfric's Homilies

Type of relative	Number of examples	Approximate percentage
<i>se</i>	99	12.6
<i>þe</i> with antecedent other than <i>se</i>	422	56.2
<i>se</i> + <i>þe</i> with <i>se</i> the only possible antecedent	101	12.9
' <i>se þe</i>	35	4.4
<i>se</i> ' <i>þe</i>	5	0.6
<i>se þe</i>	104	13.2

If we take up only the examples with antecedents other than ' *se* ', the table will be as follows: ※

Table 7: OE gloss to Latin indeclinable words

Latin	OE gloss	A	D	I	G
donec	oþ		7		4
(as long as)	oððæt	7	1	6	2
	ær þon	1			
ecce	no gloss	2	2		
(lo!)	efne			15	11
	efe nu		5	5	1
	sehðe (sihþe)	22			1
	geseoh (geseah)				2
	on gesihþe		12		8
	hy on ge		1		1
	efne gesihþe				1
numquid	no gloss		2	2	4
(can't you remember)	ah	12			
	cwisthu (swistþu)		10	1	4
	cweðsþu la			9	
	cwæpst þu la			1	
	la hu			1	
quare	no gloss		3		
(therefore)	hwy	15	3	3	1
	forhwi		10	12	13
	forþam þe				1
quoniam	no gloss		3		
(therefore)	for				
	þæt		5	5	3
	þætte	7	3		
	forhwi		2		
	forðon	122	53	11	81
	forþam þe			102	30
	forþi þe		1		
quia	no gloss		3		1
(therefore)	forþy				1
	forðon	10	7	2	8
	forþam þe			13	6
	þa þa				1
usque	no gloss	1	1		
(until)	oþ	15	16	9	12
	o þþæt			1	1

※ *se* 99 (14%)

þe 422 (65%)

se þe 144 (21%)

The percentage of 'se þe' is evidently higher than that of either D or BL, although much less than those of I, G and J. According to Kivimaa's investigation, the compound relative appears more frequently in Aelfric's Homilies than in Wulfstan's Homilies or in the *Parker Chronicle*. So compared with other OE prose, Aelfric's preference for the 'se þe'-relative appears to be undeniable. From all the considerations given so far, it would seem that the compound relative *se þe* must have been the preferred expression in 11th century Winchester.

III.d. The OE gloss to the Latin indeclinable words

In this section, we will inquire further into the problem through taking a look at the OE glosses to some Latin words other than relative pronouns. Seven Latin indeclinable words and the corresponding OE words and phrases are given in Table 7 above. The table attests that the Winchester glossators tend to use a combination of words where a one-word expression is also possible.

From Table 7, we can recognise that Lambeth (I) and Vitellius (H) include more two- (or sometimes three-) word expressions than Vespasian (A) and Royal (D). The total number of instances in which more than one word is used for glossing is as follows:³³

A (Vespasian)1	(ær þon)
D (Royal) 29	(efne nu, on gesihþe, hy on ge, cwisthu)
I (Lambeth)133	(cwisthu, cweðspu, cwæst þu la, la hu for þam þe)
G (Vitellius) 53	(cwisthu, forþam þe, efe nu, on gesihþe hy on ge, efne gesihþe, þa þa)

These statistics confirm that the Winchester glossators have some liking for combinations of words rather than single words. Thus we can presume that the preference for the compound relative is related to some extent to the style of the 11th century Winchester writers.

NOTES

1. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Shigeru Ono of Tokyo Metropolitan University for his invaluable suggestions, though all the responsibility for the faults in this paper rests upon me.

2. In form, we can distinguish two types, *se* and *þe*, but in terms of their actual usage they can be classified into three types. Traugott considers *se* and *þe* to be the two main types of OE relative pronoun and *se þe* to be the third type, which is very rare in use. Cf. Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *A History of English Syntax*, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1972), p. 103.
3. Minnie Cate Morrell, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials*, (The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1965), p. 46.
4. The conventional system of indicating these fourteen psalters by capital letters is adopted throughout this thesis.
5. The Paris Psalter is not an interlinear gloss but a prose (1-50) and alliterative verse (51-150) translation in parallel with the Latin psalter.
6. Cf. A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in OE Prose Writers*, (Macmillan, London, 1898), p. xxii, and Uno Lindelof, "Studien zu altenglische Psalterglossen," (*Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, XIII, 1904).
7. Morrell, p. 46.
8. Cf. Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, ed., *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS No. 242, (Oxford University Press, London, 1959), Appendix II, pp. 68-72.
9. The editions used are cited in the bibliography appended to the thesis.
10. Cf. E. Brenner, ed. *Der altenglische Junius-Psalter*, Anglistische Forschungen, Vol. XXXIII, (Heidelberg, 1908), p. xxxiii.
11. Brenner's edition includes a table of deviations from the Vespasian Psalter found in Junius, but no instances of relative pronouns are cited.
12. Cf. Sisam, App. pp. 52-53.
13. Morrell, p. 10.
14. There are several types of errors common to the Winchester group. Cf. Morrell, p. 106 for detailed description of the errors.
15. Sisam, App. p. 73.
16. Uno Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth-Psalter*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Tom. XLIII. No. 3., (Helsingfors, 1914), p. 32.
17. Sisam, p. 72.
18. See Lindelöf, p. 22 for more examples.
19. Cf. Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, Vol. II., (Oxford University Press Oxford, 1985), pp. 112-113.
20. Mitchell, p. 117.
21. Traugott suggests that 'se' in the *se þe* type relative should be called an emphatic demonstrative followed by the indeclinable 'þe.' (See Traugott, p. 103n.) Thus an alternative analysis would be to include these instances, as well as *þu þe*, in the category of 'þe' relatives.
22. Hereafter the Latin sentences will be placed in square brackets.
23. The figures represent the total number of examples. The figures in parentheses are the approximate percentages.
24. The approximate percentage of the relatives for the Latin relatives without expressed antecedents—mainly 'qui' (he who, those who)—and for 'omnes qui,' 'universi qui' (all those who) are presented below (B, G and H have not been examined):

‘ qui ’ (he who, those who):

Psalter	<i>se</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>se þe</i>
A	54% ^s	0%	46%
D	25%	25%	50%
I	6%	2%	92%

‘ omnes qui ’ ‘ universi qui ’ (all those who):

Psalter	<i>se</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>se þe</i>
A	56%	3%	41%
D	0%	77%	23%
I	0%	14%	86%

Although in I the results show roughly the same tendency in these uses of relatives as in the uses which are the subject of Table 1, the percentages are greatly different from that of Table 1 in A and D.

25. All the occurrences of the OE gloss to Latin ‘ qui ’ with antecedents have been examined in Psalms 1–150 of A (Vespasian) and B (Junius). The results are approximately the same as those in Table 2.

Psalter	<i>se</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>se þe</i>	Others
A	162 (86%)	0 (0%)	16 (8%)	þu 8, þu þe 3 (4%) (2%)
B	112 (74%)	2 (1%)	28 (18%)	þu 3, þu þe 6, ge þe 2 (2%), (4%) (1%)

26. The Blickling Gloss is included in *The Oldest English Text*, ed. Henry Sweet, EETS, OS 83, (Oxford University Press, London, 1885), p. 122.
27. The source for the figures for *Pastoral Care* is K. Kivimaa, *þe and þat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English*, Commentationes Humanarum Literarum 39, I, Part I, (Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsinki, 1966), p. 34.
28. The statistics of the Blickling Homilies are quoted from my thesis ‘ The Relative Pronouns in Late Old English,’ p. 79.
29. *ibid.* p. 86.
30. The deviations are: ‘ þu þe ’ (H) for ‘ þe ’ (D 27: 3)
‘ hwylce ’ (H) for ‘ þa ’ (D 8: 4)
‘ þysum ’ (H) for ‘ þy ’ (D 30: 5)
‘ þæm þe ’ (H) for ‘ þæm ’ (D 31: 2)

H also has omissions in 7: 11, 3: 8, 9: 23, 30: 24, 36: 7, 37: 21, 39: 17, 31: 2, 45: 1. There are several places where the deviations from D are caused by the differences in the Latin texts.

31. cf. Janet M. Bateley, ‘ Lexical evidence for the authorship of the prose psalms in the Paris Psalter,’ *Anglo-Saxon England* 10, pp. 69–95. She also refers to the ‘ striking differences between Paris Psalter and psalter glosses (mainly the gloss of A).
32. Mitchell, p. 122. The table was supplied to him by Lee Little of Western Kentucky University.
33. ‘ oððæt ’ is treated as one word, although according to Clark Hall it can be either one word or two.

(to be continued)